

The Principia.

First Principles in Religion, Morals, Government, and the Economy of Life.

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The Principia

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PROSPECTUS.

Our object, by this publication, is to promote pure religion, sound morals and Christian reforms; the abolition of slaveholding, caste, the rum-traffic, and kindred crimes—the application of Christian principles to all the relations, duties, business arrangements, and aims of life;—to the individual, the family, the Church, the State, the Nation—to the work of converting the world to God, restoring the common brotherhood of man, and rendering Society the type of heaven. Our text book is the Bible; our standard, the Divine law; our expediency, obedience; our plan, the Gospel; our trust, the Divine promises; our panoply, the whole armor of God.

—Editors friendly, please copy, or notice.

THE BIBLE ABOLITIONIST.

Containing the testimony of the Scripture against Slavery, and the Scriptural method of treating it.

"To the law and to the testimony; if they speak not according to this word, it is because there is no light in them." Isa. viii. 20. "All Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for correction, for instruction in righteousness. That the man of God might be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works." II Tim. iii. 16-17.

Part III.—Slaveholding brought directly to the test of the Bible.

CHAPTER XII.

COMPARATIVE GUILT OF EGYPTIAN AND AMERICAN OPPRESSION.

A consideration of the supposed excuses of the Egyptians, in our last chapter, suggests a comparison between the guilt of the Egyptians and the guilt of Americans. The excuses they might have made, when compared with ours, and in the light of the comparative atrocity of the two systems, indicate that our guilt, as a people, is vastly greater than theirs.

Other considerations point in the same direction. With our type of civilization, there is a more rapid and general diffusion of intelligence and information. We live in the nineteenth century of the Christian Era; they lived about fifteen centuries before the coming of Christ, and before the giving of the law at Mount Sinai. We have the completed canon of the Scriptures; they had not a single page of it. We have the teachings of Christ and his Apostles, along with those of Moses and the Prophets. They were without even the Decalogue, or the Books of Moses. We have the light of their history and of all the subsequent histories, which, to them, were still future. If they were warned by miracles as we have not been, we have the well-attested history of those same miracles, with the recorded fulfilment of the threatenings connected with them. And we profess to receive the record as coming from God. We have been warned, for the last thirty years, by a cloud of faithful witnesses, whereas they were warned for only a comparative brief space of time. We, Americans, claim to be, ourselves, the sovereigns of our own country. The Egyptians, like the Hebrews, were but the subjects and tenants of their monarch.* As Americans we have declared the equal rights of all men to be self-evident, and have appealed to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions to establish and maintain a Government for the security of those rights. We claim to be a Christian people, intent on the conversion of the world. The Egyptians had heard no such declarations, had entered into no such engagements, had made no such professions, had enjoyed neither the Old nor the New Dispensations, and knew nothing of the enlarged ideas that have grown out of them.

* See Gen. xlvi.

What God did to the Egyptians, and to their Monarch as a punishment for their oppressions, must therefore be of marked significance, in teaching us how he regards such superlatively aggravated oppressions as slavery and slaveholding, in America.

THEIR PUNISHMENT.

Run over, then, the catalogue of the plagues of Egypt—the Nile and all the waters turned into blood—the frogs, the lice, the flies, the "grievous murrain" on the beasts, the "boil, breaking forth with blains upon man and upon beast"—the "hail mingled with fire," smiting "throughout all the land of Egypt, all that was in the field, both man and beast, and every herb and tree of the field"—till even the people remonstrated with Pharaoh and said, "Knowest thou not that Egypt is spoiled?" Then came the locusts, the darkness, for three days, over all the land, the midnight death-wail for "all the first born in the land of Egypt, from the first born of Pharaoh upon the throne, even unto the first-born of the maid servant behind the mill, and upon all the first born of beasts,"—and finally, the overthrow of Pharaoh and his hosts in the Red Sea.

GOD'S WRATH AGAINST THEIR OPPRESSION.

Read over the story at leisure. And read, in all this, the expression of God's righteous indignation against the sin of oppression, even as it existed in Egypt, in a form so much milder than American oppression that the victims of the latter would hail as a deliverance the condition of the victims of the former—an oppression far short of human chattelhood, an oppression that left its victims in possession of large property, even "very much cattle," instead of not being allowed to own themselves, nor a rag of clothing, being held as cattle themselves—an oppression that neither forbade education, nor annulled marriage, nor separated families, nor compelled concubinage, nor hunted down fugitives with blood-hounds, nor inflicted stripes for free social worship. Read the American Slave Code, then read the story of Egypt, in the fear of the God of Israel, reflect upon it, pray over it; then lay your hand on your heart, cast your eyes upward, and say to your Maker, if you can, that you believe the Bible to be his word, but doubt whether American Slavery and slaveholding are sinful—"malum in se"—wrong in themselves, and hateful in God's sight.

PRACTICAL INQUIRIES.

But you cannot do this. Inquire then what God would have you and every American citizen, especially every American Christian do, for the abolition of American Slavery. Something he, of course, requires of you. What is it? Can it be less than what he required of the Egyptians? Have you no personal responsibility in the matter? Did God treat the Egyptians as if they had none? And is he not the same God still?

Are there no national responsibilities for American oppression? What were God's dealings with the Egyptian nation? Does he not govern the American nation by the same laws? Read your Bible, and see.

A NORTHERN PLEA FOR THE RIGHT OF SECESSION.—BY GEO. W. BASSETT, OTTAWA, ILL.

We received, some time since, a copy of the "Plea" in pamphlet form, and intended to review it in the *Principia*. But other labor has demanded our time, and other matter has demanded our space. In the mean time, it appears at full length in the *Anti-Slavery Bugle*, [Garrisonian] Salem, Ohio. Mr. Bassett has long been known to us as an Abolitionist. At one time he was pastor of a Congregational Church in Washington City. We had reckoned him among those who hold to the Constitutional right, as well as the moral and political duty of a National abolition of Slavery

and were not expecting from him a plea for the *Right of Secession*. Of course, he means the right now claimed, and attempted to be exercised by the "Confederated States" under the Presidency of Jeff. Davis, to secede from the United States. Yet he says,

"Mark! I am not now considering the motive or object of the secession of the Southern States. I am only defending the principle of self Government, or the right of any people to make, alter, or abolish their own Government."

It strikes us, that the "motive or object" of the secession has much to do—everything to do—with the right of secession. So thought our fathers, when, in their Declaration of Independence, they carefully based *their* right of secession on the *righteousness* of their cause, and shaped their entire argument in proof of it, recounting the wrongs they had endured, and appealing, not only to mankind, but to "the Supreme Judge of the world, for the rectitude of their intentions" to establish a government "to secure these rights" affirming "that all men are created equal, and are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which, are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness—that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

Our fathers claimed the right of secession on the express ground of their *motive and object* to secure human rights, implicitly acknowledging that the right was *conditioned* upon the motive and object, and, by implication, that if unfaithful to their professions, the right would be forfeited, which, alas, seems in process of being verified by history. The solemn appeal "to the Supreme Judge of the world," seems in process of Divine inquisition, at the bar of Providence.

When the Southern Seceders can truthfully make the same appeal, it will be in time to consider their claims. We do not forget—we vividly remember—that they too, have their list of grievances, and complain of invasions of their rights, but since they all culminate in the one idea that they are denied their rights because they are not allowed, without restriction or limitation, to take away everybody's rights, we submit that that claim is invalid from the beginning and that they have no rights to secede for such objects.

The very fact that they claim *rights* and enumerate *grievances* as the ground of their secession, is an acknowledgment, on their part, that if their pretended rights are *not* rights, then their alleged grievances are not grievances, and that their boasted right of secession is no right at all. Mr. Curry, Mr. Charles O'Conor, Mr. Wigfall, and the entire phalanx of their associates boldly join issue with us, on that very point. They claim the right of slaveholding as a natural and inalienable, a divine right, and build the entire superstructure of their political rights, including the right of secession, upon this corner stone. Take away that corner stone, compel them to acknowledge its non-existence, and they will not pretend that they have any such rights at all. Mr. Bassett is among the last men to concede to them this corner stone. He should have been the last to concede to them the superstructure reared upon it.

There are no political rights that are not founded upon moral right and that do not harmonize with it. The ethical underpinning of Mr. Bassett's argument utterly fails. No man living, perhaps, is able to demonstrate the rottenness of that underpinning, more completely than Mr. Bassett has done, in a sermon at Washington City on the subject.

But Mr. Bassett may perhaps say, as he quotes Algernon Sidney as saying,

"The whole body of a nation cannot be tied to any other obedience than is consistent with the common good, according to their own judgment; and, having never been subdued, or brought to terms of peace with the magistrates, they cannot be said to rebel against them to whom they owe no more than seems good to themselves, and who are nothing by themselves, more than other men."

If this proves anything in favor of the slaveholder's right of secession from a government that fails to acknowledge, at every point, their supremacy, when, in fact, that government is bound to prohibit and suppress their supremacy over the slaves—for this is the sum total of their pretended right of secession—then it proves altogether too much for Mr. Bassett, who is an abolitionist, to acknowledge. It proves the right of slaveholding, which he *denies*, as much as it does the right of secession, which he *concedes*, the latter being but a logical inference from the former, and having no existence, for a moment, after the former has disappeared.

But the slaveholders must act "according to their own judgment"—they owe no more allegiance "than seems good to themselves."

So said the pirates of Barataria, some years since, when they seceded from the Federal Government, and set up their less execrable and less dangerous Confederacy, somewhere in or near the same Great Gulf. But our Government was guilty of the *usurpation* of scattering, like the chaff of the summer threshing floor, the remnant of them that it did not exterminate.

They must "judge for themselves!" So must the rest of mankind. So must the Government that is bound to put an end to their piracies. We say nothing in favor of the right to keep them in the Union, and yet permit them to continue their piracies. That argument we leave for those who have a heart for it, and who are able. Our business is with Mr. Bassett's "Plea" for the right of the progeny of the Baratarian pirates to control the Gulf, the Gulf States, the Border States, and the whole North American continent, (as they inevitably will and must do, unless they are now suppressed) instead of dealing with them as our national necessities and duties demand, as the Ruler of the Nations, by his word, and Providence, require, at our hand—and as we certainly could and should do, if, with more of the spirit of servility than the slaves, we were not too insanely proud to welcome their aid for a common national deliverance. The nation has neither the moral nor the political right to let the two or three hundred thousand slaveholders secede, with four millions of American citizens under their hoofs. If they do this great wickedness, God will punish them, with a portion of the same bitter cup, by the hands of the slaveholders themselves—a portion they will most richly deserve.

In "taking the side of the South," says Mr. Bassett, "it is not in the enslavement of her poor, that I side with her, but in her inalienable right to national sovereignty."

But who does Mr. Bassett mean by "*the South?*" Who are they that have an "inalienable right to secede?" Are the petty oligarchy of two or three hundred thousand slaveholders, among the ten or twelve millions of the people of the Southern States "*The South?*" Is it *they* that have an "inalienable right to secede"—for the sole "motive and object" of depriving those millions, with their posterity forever, of all *their* "inalienable rights?"

Can Mr. Bassett tell us from what authority, super-human or human, such an "inalienable right to national sovereignty" is derived? Does "the Supreme Judge of the world" recognize any such right? Did our fathers, who claimed the "right of National Sovereignty" claim any such right? Would either one of the numerous authorities cited by Mr. Bassett, admit any such exposition or application of their doctrine? Would Sidney, Jefferson, or Milton? Would Kosciusko, DeKalb, or Lafayette? We think not. If they would, then we file our appeal to higher authority than even these names.

Mr. Bassett virtually concedes the point, himself, when he says:

"I will not say that the governing class of the Slave States, by the summary repeal of all civil justice, in the enslavement of the poor, have not justly forfeited their sovereignty, but *not* to a confederacy which is equally guilty with *themselves*. I will not say that the civilized world should not unite to wipe out chattel slavery as too inhuman to be tolerated, that they should not unitedly proscribe it, as they do the African Slave trade, and inaugurate *true* popular sovereignty in its place. But this is not the question between the United States and South Carolina. With us it is not a question of philanthropy, but of aggrandizement. And our motive is the identical passion that made Rome the mistress of the world, and the tyrant of herself."

A number of expressions, in the above paragraph deserve attention here.

(1.) "The governing class of the slave states!" The slaveholders? These, it would seem, comprise, what Mr. Bassett calls "the South" and the "slave states." A fortifi-

eth part, perhaps, of the people of "the South" and of the "Slave States." But is this fortior part, "*the South?*" Does it constitute the "slave States?" When these proclaim secession, do the "States" secede? Is it for "their inalienable right of secession" that Mr. Bassett, the radical abolitionist, pleads? And does the "Anti Slavery Bugle" approve the "plea?"

(2.) Have they (the petty oligarchy of slaveholders) "justly forfeited their sovereignty?" When did they ever lawfully or truthfully, in fact, possess any such "sovereignty" to be "forfeited?" We deny the statement, in toto.

(3.) But if they have "justly forfeited" their "sovereignty" and do not now possess it, what has Mr. Bassett, an abolitionist, to do, with a labored defence of that "forfeited" sovereignty and of the "inalienable right" to exercise it "according to their own judgment"—whether in accordance with the natural, immutable, and heaven-established conditions and limitations of that "sovereignty" or no?

(4.) If the "civilized world" might, without "usurpation" or transgressing the "sovereignty" of "nationalities" unite to wipe out slavery in our slave states, is it not the right and duty of our *National Government*, to wipe it out? And if so, what becomes of the "usurpation" of its preventing secession, which would put it comparatively, at least, out of its power, to "wipe out chattel slavery?"

(5.) But, says Mr. Bassett, the nation is equally guilty with this "governing class of the slave states." Be it so. It is high time to cease being thus guilty. How, why, and wherein has it been thus guilty? Chiefly and primarily, because it has so long neglected to "wipe out chattel slavery." All the positive aid given to the abomination, has been the natural, the necessary result of tolerating it. The duty, the obligation is not cancelled by the past neglect to fulfil it. On the contrary, it is immeasurably intensified. Never has that duty, that responsibility been so pressing as at this moment. Past neglect, as it does not cancel present obligation, does not disqualify for the present work of discharging it. Be it so, that the Nation is, at this moment as guilty as the slaveholders. So much the stronger is the obligation, so much more pressing is the necessity, for honoring those obligations, and discharging those duties now. "To-day, if ye will hear his voice, harden not your hearts." Say not, "We are delivered to do all these abominations."

If it is not (as between the Federal Government and the Slaveholding seceders) "a question of philanthropy" it is high time to make it so. If it is a question of "aggrandizement" allow it to be such no longer. "Execute judgment. Deliver him that is spoiled out of the hand of the oppressor"—instead of allowing the oppressor to "secede" with his prey, and making a "plea" for his "inalienable right of sovereignty" to do so! The distinction drawn by Mr. Bassett between that right, and the right to oppress, upon which it is founded, is as mischievous as it is absurd. "The governing class of the Slave States" have no more right to secede, taking the four millions of their victims in chains along with them, than a few of them had, when at Chicago or Detroit, to run off with two or three, or a score or two of them. And the Nation and its Government have no more right to permit the wholesale secession than they had to permit the retail one. Their duty, in both cases, is plain. It is to deliver the oppressed.

(6.) In doing this, on the large scale, they would "inaugurate *true* popular supremacy in place" of the counterfeit popular supremacy which the "governing class in the Slave States" are attempting, by secession, to establish and exercise. By the use of that phrase—"true popular sovereignty." Mr. Bassett concedes the other, which he had been vindicating, to be *spurious and false!*

And this is the same thing as to concede that it is no right at all.

This seems too evident to require elucidation or proof. But since Mr. Bassett has introduced so many arguments in favor of his position, and has given utterance to so many things that we deem contrary to the first principles and to the fundamental facts involved, we intend to pursue the review of his "plea" for the purpose of correcting his mistakes, which, especially as coming from an abolitionist, at this crisis, we deem calculated to do much harm.

The Royal Mail Steamship Persia has just made the quickest passage on record. Time nine days and a half between Liverpool and New York.

For the Principia.
OUR COUNTRY PAST AND PRESENT.

"Our Country is free! Our Country is free!"

So cried the dying patriot of the Revolution. When the blood had begun to chill, and the eye to grow dim; when the sound of "Independence" fell upon the ear, and summoning all the best energies of expiring, but unselfish nature; and whilst the fire of true patriotism, momentarily rekindled in the eye; "Thank God," he exclaimed "our country is free."

It was like a dying legacy. Rapid as thought, the spirit of devotion to God and man was taken up and borne along over plains, and hills, over the mountain tops, across the prairies, and along the lake shores. From city, and town, and village and hamlet; from the humble cabin and the stately hall, the bench, the bar, and the pulpit; the all inspiring cry was heard "Our Country is free!"

Children, and sires, and grand-sires: maidens and wives and grand-dames; all ranks, all ages, all classes and conditions of men, took up the glad note, and from the field, and the wharf, the merchant's resort, and the mechanic's workshop, was harmoniously shouted "Our Country is free."

It was the Nation's natal day. A great commonwealth was then born. A commonwealth destined of God to occupy a proud position among the kingdoms of the earth; a position of great national elevation; commanding the admiration of the world; and the well deserved and respectful salutation, "Hail Columbia, happy land." It was the realization of the happiest dreams, nay, rather, the best promises embraced by the faith of the pilgrim fathers. It was the answer to the oft repeated prayer—"may God defend the right, and let oppression cease." God did interpose, the yoke of oppression was broken, and world-wide, the grand proclamation went forth, "America is free!"

The history of the Nation since that period, presents a picture of unprecedented, and almost miraculous prosperity. The annals of the world cannot furnish a comparison. And yet perhaps we can account for it. The nation may be said to be the offspring of the Church,—the Church when she recognised the great truth, that it is "the blessing of the Lord which maketh rich." The Church then put herself into the attitude of earnest supplication to God, for national blessings, and divine protection. As a consequence of this, we have a Constitution, which for purity, and liberality, and comprehension of human rights, and provisions to secure them, is the admiration of the wise and good, of all nations. A Constitution which secures to every man the right of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." In accordance with this, every man is a free citizen. We have our free institutions; elective franchise, vote by ballot, trial by jury, the writ of Habeas Corpus. Institutions guaranteeing the maintenance of the rights, and liberties, of all citizens in common, ensuring progress in commerce, in the arts, and sciences, and literature.

And we have made progress. As a nation, we have become robust, and among the other nations of the earth, have assumed a commanding attitude. In the majesty of our great moral power, in the extent of our commerce; in the value of our free institutions, we have spoken in all climes, upon all waters, in all countries, and to all people. In the language of true dignity, and in tones which have created universal respect, we have exclaimed—"Stand in awe, sin not, God is in our midst; He is our refuge and strength." In the efforts making for the advance of civilization, in our great moral reforms, in the number and variety of our religious institutions: we have presented a centre of attraction to all the world; and at the present time, the representatives of nearly all countries, may be found among our true and faithful citizens.

And yet who can turn the face toward the midday sun, and drink in the balmy breezes wafted from citron groves, and orange blossoms; and not be heart-sickened at the cries of suffering and bleeding humanity? What mean those plaintive moans! those irrepressible sighs, those deep, deep groans? Why those fearful shrieks, those agonizing demands for death, in preference to life! Is it that God has not beautified, and abundantly blessed the country, for man to dwell in? Is it, that the earth has ceased to bring forth abundantly, food for both man and beast? No, the bounties of divine providence, yet flow through the land, like a wide, and deep-rolling river. Man has but to stretch forth his hand, and abundantly satisfy the best wishes of

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his heart. This is true of material, educational, moral, and religious advantages.

But oppression rules. Slavery reigns in "the land of freedom!" Where once the shout of victory on the side of liberty was heard, reverberating among the everlasting hills, and claiming with them, equal perpetuity, where once the motto was inscribed upon every door post, "liberty for man, and worship for God," where God, and man, and liberty, and worship, were so interwoven, as to be inseparable but by violence; in the nation, where God was the King—righteousness his throne, and man servant to him alone—Yes, in "free and independent America," Slavery now sits enthroned, guarded by laws and statutes, and alas, too many are found, obsequiously to shout "Long live the King, and may his dominion be extended!" How are the mighty fallen! How is the fine gold become dim! Oh, where is the genius of liberty and the spirit of true piety which characterized the pilgrim fathers? Those patriarchal and princely men who joined hand and heart, and solemnly vowed "one Monarch to obey, one creed to own—That Monarch God—that creed his word alone."

Who is responsible for the change? Let every Christian man answer the question before God, and in view of the divine testimony to Israel. "There is an accursed thing in the midst of thee, O Israel: thou canst not stand before thine enemies, until thou take away the accursed thing from among thee." Let the Church and the country see to it.

HENRY HUTCHENS.

PRairie du Sac, SAUK Co.
Wis., April 10, 1861.

THE WAR MEETING IN UNION SQUARE. ON SATURDAY LAST.

We attended this meeting, but the crowd was so great that we soon found it impossible to get within hearing of the speaker, or to stand, without great inconvenience, from the pressure. We have to rely on the reports of others, and shall have room for only a few brief sketches.

Maj. Anderson and his torn and scarred Sumter and Moultrie flags, were the principal centre of attraction. Maj. Anderson made a very brief speech, of which we find no report in the papers, but a friend of ours, who stood near him, thinks he remembers nearly every word, and he presents us with the following:

MAJ. ANDERSON'S SPEECH.
(Reported for the Principia.)

"Fellow Citizens: I am glad to see you here, to-day. You look as if you possessed patriotic hearts, and my heart is with your heart, to live and die in the United States of America, and may that flag wave over a people FREE FROM EVERY SHACKLE, and continue forever."

Our reporter says that the marked emphasis and unction with which the words we have printed in capitals, were uttered, left room for no doubt, in his mind, that the speaker include the freedom of the slave from the shackles of slavery.

Was it this allusion that prevented the appearance of the speech in the City Dailies? Our reporter says he uttered it with a remarkably loud, clear and distinct voice.

We next give a specimen of an opposite character. We copy from the *World*, of Monday 22d.

REMARKS OF REV. DR. SPRING.

The venerable pastor of the Brick church was first introduced to the vast multitude. His conservative antecedents were known to all present, and he was received with profound emotion. He said:

MR. PRESIDENT: I feel myself very happy, as a native born American, and a son of one of the revolutionary officers, and as a member of Christ's church, and one of His ambassadors, to be permitted to bear my testimony in favor of this noble cause. My past views on the agitated questions of the country are well known to those of you who are familiar with the press. I have seen no occasion to alter them. I adhere to them now. But the question now is, not between slavery and anti-slavery—not between Republicanism and Democracy, but between law and anarchy, between government and no government. And permit me to say that all the other questions are evanescent; they are mere phantoms; they shrink into nothingness compared with the grand question of government and no government in this country. It is with high pleasure that I lift my voice on behalf of that church which I represent, and I cheerfully accept the invitation to open this meeting with prayer.

Dr. Spring then uttered an impressive prayer appropriate to the occasion.

So the Doctor continues to cherish his old belief of the divinity of slavery, and of the wickedness of abolitionism. Yet, strange to tell, the issue between the divine institution and its wicked opposers, is "evanescent," and of no significance in the comparison with the issue "between government and no government, between law and anarchy." The Doctor goes for the "powers that be"—right or wrong, pro-slavery or anti-slavery.

Had Jeff. Davis captured the Capital, seized the Navy Yard, and the Navy, and made a triumphal entry into New York, the Doctor, we suppose, would have spoken and prayed for the "government and law" of Jeff. Davis! This reminds us of a predecessor of his, who was represented as saying,—"Whoever is king of England, I'll be Vicar of Bray."

But what if some John Brown should seize the Government, liberate the slaves, and become President. What would the Doctor say then? Doubtful!

Hon. JOHN A. DIX labored to prove that there was "no just ground for alienation," on the part of the seceders, and that there was no right of secession, except by mutual consent of the States. As to coercion, Pres. Lincoln had done no more than Pres. Buchanan promised to do, in his inaugural, last December.

The Constitution of the United States has been spurned and repudiated. The authority of the government has been resisted by military force. The flag of the Union has been insulted, in more than one instance, torn down and even trampled under foot. Hence the necessity of the war. The Administration has only done its duty. You know, fellow-citizens, that I have always been in favor of adjusting controversies between the states by conciliation, by compromise, by mutual concession—in a word, in the spirit in which the Constitution was formed. *Whenever the times shall be propitious for calm consultation, they will find me so still.* But, until then, let us remember that nothing could be so disastrous, so humiliating, and so disreputable to us all, as to see the common government overthrown or its legitimate authority successfully resisted.

Hon. DANIEL S. DICKINSON followed in a similar vein.

SENATOR BAKER of Oregon, said, "the day of conciliation is past." But afterward he said:

I have said that the hour for conciliation is past. It may return; but not to-morrow, nor next week. It will return when that tattered flag [pointing to the flag of Fort Sumter] is avenged. [Veheement cheers]. It will return when rebel traitors are taught obedience and submission. It will return when the rebellious confederates are taught that the North though peaceable, are not cowardly; though forbearing, are not fearful. [Cheers.] The hour of conciliation will come back, when again the ensign of the republic will stream over every rebellious fort of every Confederate State. [Cheers]. Then, as of old, the ensign of the pride and power, and dignity and majesty, and the peace of the republic will return.

Nothing said of the liberation of the oppressed—or of "establishing justice and securing the blessings of liberty to the people of the United States." On the contrary, in setting forth the unreasonableness of the seceders, he said that their "property" under the Constitution, had been secure. "The wrongs committed by them on our ensign," [not upon our common humanity,] was the burden of his charges against "the rebels."

A letter of ARCH-BISHOP HUGHES, [Roman Catholic] was read. It contained no allusion to slavery or anti-slavery. He had hoped and prayed for peace and union. But the "stars and stripes, the flag of the country, was his flag." He prayed that it might "continue to display the same waving lines of beauty for a thousand years."

MAYOR WOOD next spoke. He too, eulogized our Union, our government, our laws, and our flag," as though he had never counselled rebellion against them.

Then followed MR. EVARTS, MR. SCHENCK of Ohio, MR. JOHN COCHRANE, PROFESSOR MITCHELL, &c., all eloquent in glorification of "our flag, our Union, our government, our Constitution," &c., but without a word of pity for the slave, of reverence for liberty, righteousness, or in favor of protecting equal and inalienable rights.

Several of the German speakers are reported as having spoken for liberty, but whose liberty, or what kind of liberty does not very clearly appear, except in the following:

MR. FREDRICK KAPP said:

The two powers which have grown up, side by side, in the United States, are self-government and slavery. Each is hostile to the other. For the first time in the history of the world, slavery, in its worst development, seeks a revolution against the morals and ethics of society, and tries to found a State on all that is contemptible and unsound in human nature. Such a State cannot last. It is doomed from the first day of its existence. It must be swept away by us; and as peaceful means will not do, we must use other and violent ones.

So far as we have learned, this single sentence is the only one uttered, at the meeting, that was distinct to the issue, and appropriate to the occasion. For the most part, the orators were proficients in cant, fastian, magniloquence, and borubast.

For the Principia.

THE TRUE ISSUE.

BRO. GOODELL:—The letter of SABIN HOUGH, of CINCINNATI, is the most out-spoken and able defence of American slavery that I ever read. He candidly presents the true issue, when he says, on page fourteenth;

"There is no middle ground to this question. We must have abolitionism to the full, with the hope of thus ending the conflict, or we must accept the nationalization of this institu-

tion, in all its essential relations, and thus bring the trouble to an end."

He also says, (pg. 15.)

The nationalization of the institution, by giving it the full sanction of the Constitution, is our only hope."

This is the true issue, and may all the friends of freedom be prepared to meet it manfully, and with Christian firmness.

In the midst of our present terrible revolutionary and rebellious commotions, when a horrid Civil War in defense of Slavery has been commenced—permit me to present to you—WILLIAM GOODELL, my thanks, that you have, for many years, faithfully taught us that Slavery cannot be made legal by any human enactments.

Yours truly,

J. R. JOHNSON,
Oriskany Falls, Oneida Co., N. Y. April 17th 1861.

THE CHANGING TONE OF THE NEW-YORK PRESS.

The gray of the morning. Men seen as trees, walking.

The *N. Y. Times* of April 19, has an editorial commencing thus:

Men never realize the rapidity with which a revolution moves. Three months ago a person would have been regarded as a madman who had predicted the present state of affairs, which are but the logical and inevitable sequence of premises as pronounced as are the events now before us.

MR. DAVIS expects and intends to chase him [Mr. Lincoln] from his Capital, to subvert his Government, and to establish negro Slavery in every State in the Union. He is armed with the weapons stolen from our forts and magazines. He expects to exhaust us by crippling our trade and industries, and as a crowning intimidation, he now proclaims his intention, through pirates and privateers, of sweeping our commerce from the seas, and of destroying us, by destroying the means upon which we subsist.

We should instantly signify to Mr. JEFFERSON DAVIS that if a single one of our ships is touched by his privateers or pirates, we will march a liberating army from one end to the other of his dominions. He is struggling to reach our jugular. Let us menace him. Let us tell him that from the day he turns pirate, wherever the American flag floats, it floats over the *fres*.

From the same, April 20. We cannot admit the right of secession. Neither will we admit Slavery to be equally desirable as freedom. We will live up to our compact, and protect it as property in every loyal State, as we have done, without complaint, for seventy years. But when Slavery assumes a hostile attitude, and is fighting to put a chain round our necks, we will put forth all our power to confine it within its present area, and if no other resort is left us, we will proclaim freedom in its place. Mr. DAVIS has taken the initiative, and invites pirates and privateers to prey upon our private property. We will show him that we can retaliate with thousand-fold force, and remove from our system an element which has brought upon us our present misfortunes, which has always been a source of discord, and which must always continue to be so, while it exists.

The *N. Y. Herald* of April 19 says:

If Virginia had stood by the Union, and the other border States had acted in unison with her, the contest would have been narrowed to an issue with the Cotton States; but with the secession of Virginia, there is going to be enacted on the banks of the Potomac, one of the most terrible conflicts the world has ever witnessed; and Virginia, with all her social systems, will be doomed and swept away."

Yet, in the very next paragraph, the *Herald* strangely says:

"Congress meets in extra session, on the Fourth of July, to assume a grave responsibility; and although hostile forces may be marching South, we will advocate, as we have always advocated, the earnest consideration of measures conciliatory to the Southern States—measures which will guarantee them those rights and privileges to which they are entitled by the Constitution and the laws. It is to be hoped that Congress, when it assembles, will realize the solemnities of its duties; that it will abjure all party legislating and lobbying manoeuvres, and will devote itself energetically, and with a full consciousness of its responsibility, to the momentous issue of the day."

[If the war should be hushed up, by a compromise, or even by tolerating the longer existence of slavery, the peace would be of short continuance.—*Principia*.]

From the *Herald*, of 20th. It is our duty now to open the way of deliverance to those conservative men of the South who are now suffering under a system of slavery to which that of their own slaves is comparative freedom. A powerful Northern army in Virginia, offering protection, equal rights and security to all good Union men, will soon show that disunion has been thrust upon her people. On the other hand, a Northern invasion of Virginia, and of Kentucky, if necessary, carrying along with it the Canadian line of African freedom, as it must be, from the very nature of Civil War, will produce a powerful Union reaction. The slave population of the border States will be moved in two directions. One branch of it, without the masters, will move northward, and the other branch, with the masters, will be moved southward, so that by the time a Northern army will have penetrated to the centre of the border slave States, they will be relieved of the substance and abstract rights of slave property, for all time to come.

Finally, the revolted States, having appealed to the sword of revolution to redress their wrongs, may soon have to choose between submission to the Union or the bloody extinction of slavery, from the absence of any law, any wish, any power for its protection. Let Maryland stand fast, if she would not bring upon her own house the calamities of a hostile invasion, and the listening enemy within her gates.

The Principia.

NEW-YORK, SATURDAY, APRIL 27, 1861.

LETTERS ON BUSINESS FOR THE *Principia* SHOULD BE ADDRESSED TO M. B. WILLIAMS, THE PUBLISHER.

LETTERS FOR THE EDITOR, WHETHER FOR HIS CONSIDERATION, OR FOR THE PUBLIC, SHOULD BE ADDRESSED TO WILLIAM GOODELL.

ORDERS FOR BOOKS OR PAMPHLETS MAY BE ADDRESSED TO EITHER OF THE ABOVE.

BUT IN ALL CASES, THE BUSINESS MATTER SHOULD BE ON A SLIP OF PAPER SEPARATE FROM SUGGESTIONS OR COMMUNICATIONS FOR THE EDITOR—BECAUSE BUSINESS PAPERS MUST BE KEPT ON THE PUBLISHER'S FILE BY THEMSELVES. FOR THE SAME REASON, WHAT IS DESIGNED FOR THE PUBLISHER SHOULD BE ON ONE SLIP OF PAPER, AND MATTER DESIGNED FOR THE EDITOR'S ATTENTION OR USE SHOULD BE ON ANOTHER, THOUGH ALL MAY BE PUT INTO ONE ENVELOPE, AND DIRECTED TO EITHER.

ALL LETTERS FOR US SHOULD BE CAREFULLY DIRECTED TO 339 PEARL STREET, NOT TO 48 BECKMAN STREET, NOR TO BOX 1212, (THE FORMER ADDRESS OF WM. GOODELL, WHERE SOME OF HIS LETTERS CONTINUE TO BE SENT.) THIS IS THE MORE IMPORTANT NOW, AS THE OFFICE OF OUR FRIENDS, THERE, IS ABOUT TO BE REMOVED; AND LETTERS DIRECTED THERE WILL BE LIABLE TO BE LOST.

OF CERTAIN THINGS APPROPRIATE—AND INAPPROPRIATE—TO OUR PRESENT CONDITION AND PROSPECTS.

THAT CERTAIN FRAMES OF MIND, AND HABITS OF DEPORTMENT AND MANNERS ARE APPROPRIATE TO THE PRESENT CONDITION AND PROSPECTS OF OUR COUNTRY AND DEMANDED BY THEM, WILL NOT BE DENIED; NOR THAT THE OPPOSITES OF THESE ARE HIGHLY INAPPROPRIATE AND IMPROPER.

AND YET IT WILL BE FOUND, BY OBSERVATION, EXPERIENCE, AND REFLECTION, THAT IN THE PRESENT CONDITION AND PROSPECTS OF THE COUNTRY, THERE ARE STRONG NATURAL TENDENCIES TO THE VERY THINGS THAT ARE INAPPROPRIATE AND THAT SHOULD BE GUARDED AGAINST; AND OBSTACLES TO THE THINGS THAT MOST NEED TO BE CULTIVATED AND CHERISHED.

1. A SPIRIT AND HABIT OF SOBER REFLECTION AND CONSIDERATION, IN SUCH TIMES, IS MOST APPROPRIATE AND NECESSARY; WHILE THE OPPOSITE SPIRIT AND HABITS OF THOUGHTLESSNESS, INCONSIDERATION, RECKLESSNESS OF SPEECH, AND LEVITY OF MANNERS ARE MUCH TO BE DEPRAVED AND GUARDED AGAINST.

YET, IF WE MISTAKE NOT, IT WILL BE FOUND THAT THERE ARE, IN SUCH TIMES, STRONG INCENTIVES AND TEMPTATIONS IN THE OPPOSITE DIRECTION. THE VERY EXCITEMENTS THAT ACCOMPANY WAR, THE SIGHTS, THE SOUNDS, THE ANNOUNCEMENTS, THE RUNNING HERE AND THERE, THE EAGER EXPECTATION, THE EARNEST INQUIRY, THE ANIMATED RESPONSE, THE PIQUANT REMARK, THE APPROBATION, THE CENSURE, THE MERRY SHOUT, THE LOUD LAUGH, THE GLEE, THE HUZZA, THE ROAR, THE DIM, THE HURRY, THE BUSTLE, THE SHARP DEBATE, THE BUSY PREPARATION, THE PRESSING CARE, ALL THESE, BECOMING EXCESSIVE, OR ALTERNATING WITH RAPIDITY, TEND TO UNBALANCE THE MIND, UNSTRING OR WEAR THE NERVES, DISPLACE OR DROWN SOBER, DELIBERATE CONSIDERATION, OR UNFIT THE MIND FOR REFLECTION.

"IN THE DAY OF PROSPERITY REJOICE, BUT IN THE DAY OF ADVERSITY, CONSIDER." AND IF WAR, INTESTINE WAR, BE NOT ADVERSITY, CALAMITY, WHERE SHALL WE FIND REALITIES CORRESPONDING WITH THE WORDS? ANYTHING LIKE LEVITY, MIRTH, JIBES, JEERS, TAUNTS, LAMPOONS, UPON THE INCIDENTS OF SUCH A WAR, MUST BE STRANGELY OUT OF PLACE, VIOLATIONS EVEN OF GOOD TASTE, AS WELL AS OF THE LAW OF BENEVOLENCE, AND OF THE TIE OF FRATERNITY THAT BINDS US TO THE WORST, THE MOST ERRING OF OUR FELLOW MEN. TO A MIND SUITABLY IMPRESSED WITH THE SOLEMNITIES OF THE CRISIS TO WHICH, UNDER THE CHASTISING HAND OF PROVIDENCE, WE ARE NOW BROUGHT, AND APPROPRIATELY CHASTENED AND HUMBLED, AS THE ENTIRE NATION SHOULD BE, UNDER THE DIVINE HAND, ANY SUCH MANIFESTATIONS OF LEVITY MUST GRATE HARSHLY, AND INCREASE THE BURDEN OF SORROW.

"BUT OUGHT WE NOT TO REJOICE THAT GOD REIGNS, AND HAS COME DOWN TO DELIVER THE OPPRESSED?"

YES. IF, IN A SPIRIT OF CALM AND CONSIDERATE INVESTIGATION, WE CAN COME TO THE CONCLUSION THAT SUCH IS THE FACT, IT IS OUR PRIVILEGE TO REJOICE, BUT WITH TREMBLING, AND SACRED AWE OF THE DIVINE JUDGMENTS; TO REJOICE AS DID MOSES AND MIRIAM, AT THE RED SEA; TO REJOICE AS DID THE PROPHET HABAKKUK, WHEN HE SAW, IN VISION, THE BOW OF THE ALMIGHTY MADE VISIBLE, AS HE 'MARCHED THROUGH THE LAND IN INDIGNATION,' AND 'WENT FORTH FOR THE SALVATION OF HIS PEOPLE' WHILE THE SIGHT CAUSED THE 'LIPS' OF THE BEHOLDER TO 'QUIVER, AND ROTTENNESS TO ENTER INTO HIS BONES'; TO REJOICE, AS, IN THE APOCALYPSE, 'THE HOLY APOSTLES AND PROPHETS' ARE DESCRIBED AS REJOICING, IN THE DESTRUCTION OF THE MYSTIC BABYLON. BUT SUCH IS NOT THE RE-

JOICING OF GIDDY MIRTH, LIKE THE "CRACKLING OF THORNS UNDER A POT."

THE QUESTION WHETHER THE SIGNS OF THE TIMES BETOKEN DELIVERANCE, OR DESTRUCTION, IS THE QUESTION WHETHER THE PEOPLE ARE HUMBLED, OR HARDENED, UNDER THE TOKENS OF THE DIVINE displeasure; AND NOTHING CAN BE A Surer SIGN OF BEING HARDENED THAN A SPIRIT OF LEVITY, AND WORDS OF FLIPPANT GRATULATION AT THE CALAMITIES WITH WHICH PORTIONS OF THE LAND ARE BEING VISITED.

ALTERNATE MANIFESTATIONS OF DISPROPORTIONATE DESPONDENCY AT ONE TIME, AND OF JUBILANT MERRIMENT, AT ANOTHER, DO NOT INDICATE THE CALM STEADFAST FAITH IN GOD, SO NECESSARY, IN TIMES LIKE THE PRESENT.

2. A SPIRIT OF RESIGNATION, AND PENITENCE, IN TIMES OF PUBLIC CALAMITY, IS AMONG THE NECESSARY CONDITIONS OF DELIVERANCE. BUT INSENSIBILITY IS NOT RESIGNATION, AND FLIPPANCY AND LEVITY ILL AGREE WITH HUMILIATION AND PENITENCE.

3. A SPIRIT OF BOASTFULNESS OVER OUR ENEMIES, COMPARING, COMPLACENTLY, OUR RESOURCES AND PROWESS WITH THEIRS, DOES NOT COMPORT WITH THE SPIRIT OF RELIANCE UPON GOD, NOR WITH THE HUMILITY BECOMING OUR CONDITION AND POSITION, IN GOD'S SIGHT.

SUCH A SPIRIT EXPOSES US TO THE DANGER OF UNDERRATING OUR OPPONENTS, OF OVERRATING OURSELVES, AND OF TRUSTING IN OURSELVES, OUR RESOURCES, OUR GREAT MEN, OUR STATESMEN, OUR WARRIOR, AND ONE ANOTHER, INSTEAD OF TRUSTING IN GOD. 'PRIDE GOETH BEFORE DISTROCTION, AND A HAUGHTY SPIRIT BEFORE A FALL.' IF GOD DESIGNS TO DELIVER THE NATION FROM THE CONTROL OF OPPRESSORS ON THE ONE HAND, AND FROM THE CUNNING CRAFTINESS OF SELFISH DEMAGOGUES, ON THE OTHER, HE WILL FIRST CAUSE THE NATION TO HUMBLE ITSELF BEFORE HIM, AND THE FRIENDS OF GOD AND OF HUMANITY MUST SET THE EXAMPLE. EVEN THEY HAVE REASON TO REPENT OF THEIR SHORT-COMINGS, THEIR WEAK FAITH, AND CORRESPONDING LACK OF SELF-DENIAL AND EFFORT.

4. A SPIRIT OF SELF-RIGHTEOUSNESS, OF CONTEMPT, OF HATRED, OF REVENGE, OF MALEVOLENT EXULTATION AT THE SEEMING PROSPECT OF THE DOWNFALL OF OUR ENEMIES, IS, OF ALL THINGS, TO BE GUARDED AGAINST, AS OFFENSIVE TO GOD, HURTFUL TO OUR OWN SOULS, AND DANGEROUS TO OUR COUNTRY.

5. ALONG WITH A SPIRIT OF RESIGNATION, HUMILITY, PENITENCE, AND WORKS MEET FOR REPENTANCE, THERE IS NEEDED A SPIRIT OF IMPORTUNATE AND CONFIDING PRAYER. TO ATTEMPT OR TO EXPECT DELIVERANCE WITHOUT THE DIVINE AID, IS THE HEIGHT OF PRESUMPTION, AND THE ESSENCE OF PRACTICAL ATHEISM ITSELF.

BUT THE SPIRIT OF PRAYER IS NOT COMMONLY WITNESSED IN WAR CAMPS, IN CABINETS, OR IN THE CONSULTATIONS OF POLITICIANS. EVEN CHRISTIAN ABOLITIONISTS ARE GREATLY EXPOSED TO THE DANGER OF LOOKING WITH EAGER EYES TO OTHER SOURCES, IN SUCH A WAY AS TO NEGLECT LOOKING UP TO THE EVERLASTING HILLS FROM WHENCE COMETH THEIR HELP.

WAR AND COMPROMISE.

STRANGE WORDS TO BE BROUGHT TOGETHER, AT SUCH A TIME AS THIS, ONE WOULD THINK! MOST ABOLITIONISTS, DOUBTLESS, ARE CONGRATULATING THEMSELVES THAT "THE DAY OF COMPROMISE HAS GONE BY." THEY HEAR THE LEADING ORATORS AND EDITORS SAY SO, AND TAKE FOR GRANTED THAT THEY MEAN WHAT THEY SAY, INSTEAD OF WATCHING TO NOTICE HOW THEY CONTRADICT THEMSELVES. THE CRY OF "NO MORE COMPROMISES" TOO COMMONLY MEANS ONLY—"NO MORE COMPROMISES WITH SECESSION."—"NO COMPROMISE WITH SLAVERY" IS QUITE A DIFFERENT THING. A RELIGIOUS PAPER BEFORE US SAYS "NO COMPROMISE," BUT IMMEDIATELY, IN THE SAME ARTICLE, PROPOSES TO YIELD UP ONE HALF OF THE REPUBLIC TO THE DEVIL OF SLAVERY, ON CONDITION OF BEING GRACIOUSLY PERMITTED TO MAINTAIN LIBERTY, IN CLOSE PROXIMITY TO SLAVERY (JUST AS THOUGH THE EXPERIMENT WERE NOT PROVING THE ABSURDITY AND IMPOSSIBILITY OF THE THING) IN THE OTHER HALF! BURN UP YOUR HALF OF THE HOUSE, IF YOU PLEASE, BUT WE WILL NOT LET YOU SET FIRE TO OUR HALF! SENSIBLE!—VERY!

THE HERALD GOES IN FOR A VIGOROUS WAR, BUT HINTS AT PACIFICATIONS AND COMPROMISES AFTERWARDS, WHEN "THE HONOR OF OUR FLAG" SHALL HAVE BEEN AVENGED! THE SPEAKERS AT THE "PATRIOTIC UNION SQUARE" MEETING LAST SATURDAY, AT LEAST SOME OF THEM, INTIMATED THE SAME THING. DR. SPRING, WAS FOR FIGHTING THE SECEDERS, BUT HADN'T CHANGED HIS OPINION ABOUT SLAVERY AND ANTI-SLAVERY, A WHIT! NOT HE!

WHEN THE WAR OF "PRIDE AND SELFISHNESS, NOT OF PRINCIPLE" (AS WILLIAM PINCKNEY OF MARYLAND CALLED IT) SHALL HAVE EXPENDED ITS FURY, SUCCESSFULLY OR UNSUCCESSFULLY, AND PRUDENTIAL CALCULATION, WITHOUT PRINCIPLE, SHALL HAVE RESUMED ITS ACCUSTOMED SWAY, THEN LOOK OUT FOR FRESH AND MORE CLAMOROUS DEMANDS FOR "COMPROMISE!"

WENDELL PHILLIPS, AS QUOTED BY THE *N. Y. TIMES*, WENT SO FAR, IN A RECENT SPEECH, AS TO CHARGE UPON MR. SEWARD, THE DESIGN OF SO CONDUCTING THE WAR AS TO BRING BOTH THE PARTIES INTO THE FITTEST CONDITION FOR A COMPROMISE AND A PACIFICATION. WE DARE NOT AFFIRM THAT SUCH IS THE FACT. BUT WE CONFESS THAT THE MANAGEMENT OF THE DEFENCES OF SUMTER AND WASHINGTON HAVE A SUSPICIOUS APPEARANCE.

WE CAN TRUST NO ADMINISTRATION, EITHER IN PEACE OR IN WAR, THAT DOES NOT ABJURE THE IDEA OF LETTING SLAVERY ALONE IN THE STATES!

IF IT IS TO BE "LET ALONE," THERE MUST BE A "PACIFICATION" WITH IT, OF COURSE.

LET NOT THE LOUD AND PASSIONATE UTTERANCES AND EXERTIONS OF OUR PUBLIC MEN DECEIVE US INTO THE NOTION THAT WE ARE TO HAVE NO COMPROMISES WITH SLAVERY PROPOSED TO US AGAIN. THERE IS NO SECURITY, UNTIL SLAVERY IS EXTINGUISHED.

IF, AS OUR LEADING EDITORS AND WAR-MEETING ORATORS TELL US, "ALL PARTY LINES ARE NOW OBLITERATED"—IF, AS THEY ASSURE US, "WE ARE NO LONGER REPUBLICANS OR DEMOCRATS" BUT ARE "ALL FOR THE UNION AT ALL HAZARDS AND AT WHATEVER EXPENSE" IF ALL ALIKE, ARE, AS THEY LIKewise TELL US, TO HAVE EQUAL ACCESS TO FEDERAL APPOINTMENTS AND NATIONAL PAP.—IF THE WORDS *SLAVERY* AND *SLAVERY*, ARE, AS THE *TRIBUNE* RECOMMENDS, HENCEFORTH TO BE DROPPED, IF THE ISSUE, AS DR. SPRING TOLD US, IN HIS RECENT WAR SPEECH, IS "NO LONGER BETWEEN SLAVERY AND ANTI-SLAVERY, BUT ONLY BETWEEN LAW AND ANARCHY, GOVERNMENT, AND NO GOVERNMENT, IRRESPECTIVE OF THE ENDS AND CHARACTER OF WHAT HE CALLS GOVERNMENT AND LAW"—IF LEADING PRO-SLAVERY MEN ARE HEREAFTER TO BE AS PROMINENT IN OUR PUBLIC AFFAIRS AS THEY WERE AT THE LATE WAR MEETING AT UNION SQUARE, AND IF REPUBLICANS AND ANTI-SLAVERY MEN CONTINUE TO BE AS DELIGHTED WITH THAT FACT AS THEY NOW APPEAR TO BE, THEN, FOR AUGHT WE SEE, THE ULTIMATE ASPIRATIONS OF SENATOR SEWARD'S TWO FAMOUS SPEECHES, LAST WINTER, IN THE SENATE, ARE ABOUT TO BE REALIZED. THE PEOPLE ARE TO FORGET THAT *FREEHOLD* WAS EVER IN DANGER, AND CARE ONLY FOR *UNION*, WITHOUT REGARD TO REPUBLICANISM OR ANY POLITICAL NAME OR THING.

AS THE SECEDERS WERE UNWILLING TO BE COMPROMISED INTO THE UNION, WE MUST WHIP THEM INTO IT, AND THEN, BY CONCESSION, MAKE THEM WILLING TO STAY THERE!

WHETHER, THEREFORE THE NORTH OR THE SOUTH SHOULD BE VICTORIOUS, OR WHETHER BOTH SHOULD BE EXHAUSTED, AND SEEK REPEACE—AS ALL WARS MUST END, AND COMMONLY END IN COMPROMISE, THE FRIENDS OF FREEDOM MUST NOT BE SURPRISED TO SEE, WITHIN A FEW WEEKS OR MONTHS, THE DEMAND FOR CONCESSION AND COMPROMISE, COMING UP AGAIN, WITH FRESH POWER AND VIGOR. IT CAN BE PREVENTED ONLY BY A TIMELY DEMAND, BY MEN OF PRINCIPLE AND COMMON SENSE, FOR A *NATIONAL ABOLITION OF SLAVERY*, BY SENDING AN ARMY OF LIBERATION THROUGH THE WHOLE SOUTH. THE "WAR FOR UNION" WILL OTHERWISE BECOME A WAR FOR SLAVERY, A WAR FOR THE OVERTHROW OF AMERICAN LIBERTY.

FIGHTING FOR THE CONSTITUTION:

"AT THIS MOMENT COMES THE CRY OF WAR, AND THE NATION IS ELECTRIFIED INTO A NEW CONSCIOUSNESS OF ITS LIFE, ITS DUTY, ITS DESTINY. ALL CLASSES AND INTERESTS, POLITICAL, MILITARY, COMMERCIAL, FINANCIAL, MORAL, RELIGIOUS, UNITE WITH ONE VOICE TO UPHOLD THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES FOR UNION AND FOR FREEDOM. NOT SINCE THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE HAS THERE BEEN SUCH A SPONTANEOUS UNANIMITY OF FEELING AS THIS CALL TO ARMS HAS BROUGHT OUT FROM THE PEOPLE."—*THE INDEPENDENT*.

WELL. IF THE WHOLE NORTH IS GOING INTO A WAR "TO UPHOLD THE CONSTITUTION," WOULDN'T IT BE WELL FOR THE NORTH TO READ THE CONSTITUTION, IN ITS CONNECTION WITH OUR PREVIOUS "NATIONAL CHARTERS" (THE ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION, OF 1778—THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, 1776, AND THE ARTICLES OF ASSOCIATION, OF 1774,) WHICH THROW FLOODS OF LIGHT UPON THE MEANING OF THE CONSTITUTION.

IF WE ARE TO FIGHT FOR THE CONSTITUTION, EXPEND MILLIONS OF TREASURE, AND SCORES OF THOUSANDS OF LIVES, WOULDN'T IT BE WELL TO STUDY AND UNDERSTAND THE CONSTITUTION, AND SEE WHETHER IT IS WORTH THE COST OF FIGHTING, OR NO?

SOME SAY THE CONSTITUTION IS FOR SLAVERY. SOME SAY IT IS AGAINST SLAVERY. SOME SAY IT IS PARTLY IN FAVOR OF SLAVERY, AND PARTLY AGAINST IT.

SOME SAY THE CONSTITUTION IS ONLY A CONFEDERATION OF STATES. SOME SAY IT IS PROPERLY AND FULLY, A GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE, EMANATING DIRECTLY FROM THE PEOPLE, AND UNDER THE CONTROL OF A MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE.

SOME SAY THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT IS PRIMARY AND PARAMOUNT. OTHERS SAY THAT THE STATE GOVERNMENTS ARE PRIMARY AND PARAMOUNT.

SOME SAY THAT ANY STATE HAS A RIGHT TO SECEDE, WHENEVER IT PLEASES. OTHERS DENY ANY SUCH RIGHT.

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Now the question whether the North or the South is right, in the present war, is a question depending, in no small measure, upon the question—*What is the Constitution?* What does it mean? Answer these questions, one way, and the seceders have the best of the argument. Answer them another way, and they are altogether in the wrong. Answer them in still another way, and there may be faults and grievances on both sides.

Is it not best to know which side is right, and which is wrong?

The Government is calling for more soldiers to "defend the Constitution" than there are American citizens who have studied the Constitution enough to know whether it ought to be defended or not!

Millionaires are offering millions for an armed defence of the Constitution. How much will they, or any body else give, to teach the people what the Constitution is?

A thousandth part of the cost already incurred by the war might have educated the people into such a knowledge of their free institutions and of their Constitutional powers and abilities for defending them against the oligarchy, at the ballot box, as would have superseded the necessity of the war.

If the war is to be terminated, without submissions, concessions, and compromises on the part of the North, fatal to freedom, it must be because the people of the North will have been led to read, to study, to understand, and to maintain the "National Charters" of their freedom.

Never was the work of circulating "OUR NATIONAL CHARTERS" so pressing a necessity, as at present. Measures should be immediately taken in towns, villages, cities, and counties, for furnishing every citizen with a copy at a trifling expense. Who will pioneer the way?

We speak advisedly when we say that not one common sense honest man in an hundred, reads "Our National Charters" who will afterward, say, upon his honor, that he doubts the Constitutional power and Constitutional duty of a National Abolition of Slavery.

ANNIVERSARY MEETINGS OF THE CHURCH ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

There will be a sermon before this Society, on Sabbath Evening, May 5th, at the Church of the Puritans, Union Square, New York, by Rev. Jonathan Blanchard, D. D. President of Wheaton College, Illinois. Addresses at the Anniversary on Monday Evening, May 6th, at the same place, are expected from Rev. Messrs. J. A. Thome, Cleveland, Charles B. Boynton, Cincinnati, C. H. A. Bulkeley, Patterson, N. J., and A. B. Milligan, Western Pennsylvania.

There will be a Special Meeting for conference, of the members and friends of the Church Anti-Slavery Society, at the Lecture Room of the Church of the Puritans, on Monday P.M. May 6th, 3½ o'clock. A general attendance is requested, of those who sympathize with this Society, as a suitable exponent of evangelical Christianity, upon the subject of slavery.

In behalf of the Executive Committee.

J. C. WEBSTER President,
HENRY T. CHEEVER Secretary.

TWENTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Twenty-seventh Annual meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society will be held in the Church of the Puritans (Dr. Cheever's,) in the City of New York, on Tuesday, May 7, commencing at 10 o'clock A. M. In the evening, another public meeting will be held in the Cooper Institute, commencing at half-past 7 o'clock.

The Society will meet, for business purposes only, in the Lecture Room of the Church of the Puritans, at 3½ P. M. on Tuesday, and 10 A. M. on Wednesday.

THE NEW YORK (CITY) ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY will hold its anniversary in the Cooper Institute on Wednesday evening, May 8th. Addresses by Wendell Phillips and Theodore Tilton. Admittance 10 cents, to defray expenses.

The Tribune relates how Senator Sumner was in danger of mob violence, in Baltimore, the night before the Massachusetts Regiment arrived there. He put up at Barnum's Hotel, which was surrounded and entered by rowdies, thirsting for his blood, but means were found for his escape.

News of the Day.

We present the news, as it comes to us, during the week in the form of a Diary, beginning with the day after our last issue went to press.

SATURDAY, APRIL 20.

The President of the United States has issued his proclamation, declaring the ports of the South in a state of blockade.

Harper's Ferry has been abandoned by the United States troops. It was attacked by 2,500 Virginians, and the garrison of 45 men blew up the Armory and Arsenal, containing 15,000 stand of arms, and retreated into Pennsylvania, with the loss of three men. The place is not of any value in a military point of view, being commanded by the surrounding hills, so that it could not be held against an attack in any force. The only thing that gave importance to it was the Government Armory, and that, fortunately, has been destroyed, and the arms prevented from falling into the hands of the rebels.—Tribune.

About 18 months ago, Federal troops were sent to keep the Armory and Arsenal out of the hands of the slaves. Now the U. S. troops burn up the same establishment, to keep it out of the hands of the slaveholders! God still holds the nations in his hand.

Cassius M. Clay, lately appointed Minister to Russia, stays at home to take command of a company of 100 volunteers, in defence of the government. In his speech at Cleveland, Ohio, in a Free Soil Convention, in 1851, he said, in our hearing, that, in case of a civil war concerning slavery, he should "go with his own color."—Of course he would have to go with the slaveholders! Is that the sort of help the administration wants, now?

Southern calculations.—A Washington Correspondent of the Tribune, who has just returned from a tour through Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia, S. Carolina, N. Carolina and Virginia, says:

The general belief is that Ben. McCulloch is about to attack Washington successfully; that Mr. Lincoln will be killed; that the North wants to subjugate the South; that Yankee soldiers, as they are called, are cowards and easily defeated.

There is great wonder that no Disunion party has yet been developed in the North, and there is expectation, daily, of hearing that the masses of New-York will inaugurate a bloody rebellion and overthrow the authorities.

"Our dear Christian brethren of the South." The same correspondent of the Tribune says—

Methodist clergymen are acting as captains. Companies are organized with religious ceremonies. Boys are enlisting, and women are urging on brothers and husbands.

The Tailors of New York are now full of business, making uniforms for the military.

At Richmond, Va., gold and New-York exchange is 15 per cent premium. Southern stocks, in New-York, are rapidly depreciating.

Leading pro-slavery Democrats, as Daniel S. Dickinson, John Cochrane, Mayor Wood, James T. Brady, &c., were announced as among the speakers at the Great Meeting at Union Square, this afternoon, in support of the government, and we were told by a friend that he saw Drs. Spring and Bethune on one of the stands. Why such men were put forward, or why they made their appearance, we leave for our readers to conjecture. The presence of Floyd, Toombs, Jeff. Davis, would have been equally appropriate to the occasion.

Edward Everett has come out in favor of the Administration, and declares that the Government must be sustained. Throughout New-England all party distinctions have been swept away. The Boston Post, The Boston Courier, and all the Opposition journals of any note, have pronounced in favor of sustaining the Administration, and putting down the Rebellion.—Tribune.

Blood shed at Baltimore. A Massachusetts Regiment, in passing through Baltimore, though marching with the Mayor of Baltimore at their head, were attacked by a mob, with stones, bricks and fire arms, and two of the soldiers were killed. The troops then fired on the mob, and killed eleven of them. Ten soldiers and four Baltimoreans were wounded.

Albany, Friday, April 19, 1861. Gov. Morgan has been repeatedly telegraphed, to-day, by citizens of New York, to send forward large numbers of troops, but the authorities at Washington have requested him to wait for further directions. What can this mean?

Gov. Curtin of Pennsylvania, declines sending any more troops to Washington, till the Government furnishes arms for them.

What the South fears. The utmost efforts are being made to spread the report throughout Virginia, that new troops from the New-England States are coming to set the slaves free, and to invade its soil and plunder its citizens. A general insurrection of slaves is feared.

What is threatened. It is said that Jeff. Davis will make his headquarters in Richmond, in five days. This is promised in that city as an inducement to get volunteers to fill up the ranks of the State regiments. It is reported that batteries are at once to be erected all along the Virginia shore of the Potomac in order to prevent troops from passing up that river to Washington.

Kentucky, it is said, will declare herself neutral—to prevent invasive inroads from Ohio, while she permits any numbers of her citizens that please to march to the aid of the seceders!

Washington, April 19.—The Secretary of War has apprised President Garrett, of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, that the transportation of rebel troops over that road will be regarded as an act of treason.

The government will immediately fortify Maryland and the Heights overlooking the Washington Navy-Yard.

Defensive works will also be erected on Virginia Hill, overlooking the Potomac river.

More troops are wanted to carry out the measures for the defence of the capital.

Boston, April 19.—A Canadian gentleman states that a sympathetic war feeling with the North is aroused in Canada, and that six hundred men from Quebec, and a large number from Montreal, are coming to Boston to enlist in the regular United States army.

The Virginia Convention declares the State out of the Union, without submitting the question to the people, though the Convention was chosen under the express stipulation that its action should first be submitted to the people, before going into effect.

MONDAY, 22.

Great anxiety has been felt here, since Saturday afternoon, for the safety of Washington City, but we still remain without authentic intelligence. The telegraph wires are cut, and the rail tracks are taken up, by the rebels in Maryland and Virginia, to prevent the Government from communicating with the North. Various rumors are afloat, of which the truth cannot yet be ascertained.

At Baltimore [as is stated by persons who left there on Sunday morning] "all law and order were set at defiance, and the city seemed under the control of the secessionists."

Four steamers of the largest capacity, yesterday left this port with troops, viz.: the Baltic, with the Twelfth Regiment; the Columbia, Capt. WHITING, with the Sixth; the R. R. Cayler, with the Seventy-first, and the steamer Coatzacoalcos, with part of the Rhode Island Regiment and Gov. SPRAGUE's suite. Another Massachusetts Regiment also arrived and was received on board the Ariel, which will probably leave to-day. The Harriet Lane convoyed the fleet.

HARRISBURG, April 21, 1861.

A body of 2,000 men were thrown forward by the midnight train to the first bridge on the way to Baltimore, which has been destroyed, on the Northern Central Railroad. They are to be followed by 300 regulars from Carlisle, and Sherman's battery of Flying Artillery, and 1,000 more volunteers.

BALTIMORE, Saturday, April 20, 1861.

The Melville bridge, on the Northern Central Railroad and between Woodbury and Mount Washington, has been burned down. It is reported that the Northern soldiers are at the Relay House on that road. A bridge on the Northern Central Railroad, and one on the Philadelphia, Wilmington, and Baltimore Railroad are gone.

The secessionists threaten to capture Washington, and, if necessary, burn it down, and retreat.

HARRISBURG, April 22.—It is stated by officers of the army, who arrived Sunday evening from Baltimore, that the guns of Fort McHenry were turned toward Baltimore, but there had been no firing yet.

BALTIMORE, April 20.—The city is in great excitement, and armed men are moving in every direction.

The Mayor and Governor have notified the President that no more troops can pass through Baltimore, unless they fight their way.

The President replies that no more troops will be brought through Baltimore, provided that they are allowed to pass around the city without molestation.

The bridges on the Northern Central Railroad have all been destroyed.

PHILADELPHIA, Saturday, April 20, 1861.

The Government has taken possession of the Baltimore Road. No trains are leaving here for Wilmington.

The Toronto (Canada) Globe advocates a Union between Great Britain and the United States, against the seceders.

A resident of Kent County, Md., has received information that the negroes are burning the houses of the whites. Two of his buildings have already been destroyed.

It is rumored that there is to be a concentration of U. S. forces, near Baltimore.

TUESDAY. 22.

The report relative to the bombardment of Baltimore by Fort McHenry is not confirmed, though it is stated, on the authority of persons who have recently passed through there, that it is menaced by its guns. From all accounts which reach us, Baltimore must be in a condition of almost utter anarchy, from which the efforts of the authorities are insufficient to wrest it. That an attack on Fort McHenry, which has just been reinforced is contemplated there is not the slightest doubt, and that the commander of the fort will retaliate by opening upon the city, is considered certain.—*Times*.

Philadelphia, Monday, April, 22. It is understood, from reliable authority, that the troops at Cockeysville have been ordered back to Harrisburgh, and will go by transports hence South.

Wheeling, Monday, April 22, 1861. The demonstrations along the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad were but slight.

At Harper's Ferry there were about 5,000 Virginia troops. A representation of the Union sentiment of Brooke, Hancock, and Marshall Counties were sent to this city to-day, to learn what action the Union men of this county proposed taking, in view of the demonstrations in the Eastern part of the State, and to concert some measures. No special action was taken, but it is quite likely a Convention of the Western counties will soon be called to take into consideration the propriety of a division of the State.

WEDNESDAY. 23.

We condense, from the Tribune, the substance of its statement of "the present posture of affairs about Washington."

1. About 4,500 men were under Gen. Scott's orders, in Washington, on Monday.

2. The principal rebel force, this side of Charleston, [S. C.] is about 3,000 in Virginia, near Harper's Ferry.

3. The rumor of a large force, on Arlington Heights, in view of Washington City, is discredited.

4. The N. Y. 7th Regiment and the Massachusetts 6th arrived at Annapolis, on Monday, found it in the hands of the secessionists. Yet they effected a landing, and marched for Washington City, above 30 miles distant, over a good road.

5. A Massachusetts corps has charge of the Baltimore and Ohio [branch] Rail Road, as far East from Washington as the Annapolis junction, but the track from thence to Annapolis is broken up.

6. Gen. Scott has burned the upper bridge over the Potomac at Georgetown, which connects that city with Virginia.

7. The Secessionists of Virginia have a rumor that Fort Pickens, Florida, has been taken, with a heavy loss of life. Uncertain.

8. Maryland, below the Susquehanna, is in the hands of the Secessionists. [This includes all the country between Washington and Baltimore.]

The Governor has been coerced into calling a meeting of the Legislature, on Friday; meantime, an election for delegates is to be held in Baltimore, and none but the secession ticket will be allowed to be voted. So the State will, of course, be declared out of Union.

9. The burning of Federal property at the Navy-Yard near Norfolk was to save it from the secessionists, now rampant thereabout. The steamship Merrimac is gone with the rest. Just an hour too late, the Pawnee arrived with eight hundred Massachusetts men on board, who would have saved all that could be got away had they been a little sooner. But Com. McCauley had but sixty men in all, and could not get even the Merrimac away with this force.

10. The President, greatly surprised on first learning that Pennsylvania troops on their way to Washington had come down the Northern Central Railroad to Cockeysville, fifteen miles from Baltimore, and been stopped there by the destruction of a high bridge, yielded to the remonstrances of the Maryland authorities, and consented to order them back to Pennsylvania, and have them come to Washington by the Annapolis or some other Bay route. Accordingly, a part of them moved backward, on Monday evening. But, after learning of the stoppage at Annapolis, and probably learning, also, that the navigation of the Potomac below Washington has been obstructed by rebel batteries, the President appears, though it is not certain, to have given orders to return to and hold Cockeysville, and perhaps to push through by that route to Washington.

It is reported that martial law has been proclaimed by the Maryland authorities at Baltimore—but not in Washington City, although the President has been requested to do it, for two weeks past, and the City is over-run with Secessionists and spies.

Gov. Hicks, of Maryland, has written a letter to President Lincoln, advising him to order the troops off Annapolis, also to bring no more troops through Maryland. He also suggests that Lord Lyons, the British Commissioner, be requested to act as mediator between the contending parties. Secretary Seward answers that the force ordered to proceed "through Maryland is intended for nothing but the defence of the Capital"—that "the President has necessarily committed the choice to Gen. Scott"—that the "high-way selected by him has been chosen on consultation with prominent magistrates and citizens of Maryland, as the one which, while a route is absolutely necessary, is farther removed from the populous cities of the State, and with the expectation that it would therefore be the least objectionable one. Still farther, that no domestic contention whatever that may arise among the parties of this republic, ought, in any case, to be referred to any foreign arbitrament, least of all to the arbitrament of an European Monarchy."

Mayor Brown of Baltimore, (previous to the preceding correspondence), had an interview with Pres. Lincoln and his Cabinet, in which, in accordance with Major Brown's wishes, it was,

"Agreed that our troops should hereafter, avoid the streets of that city provided their advance to Washington were not obstructed in other directions. The Mayor, thus encouraged, went on to suggest to Mr. Lincoln "a course of policy that would give peace to the country, and especially the withdrawal of all orders contemplating the passage of troops through ANY PART of Maryland."

Violence was offered to Henry W. Hoffman, the newly appointed Collector of Baltimore at Harper's Ferry, as he was about coming to the city, to take possession of the office.

NO MARCHING AROUND BALTIMORE.

We have received the following letter from one of the popular leaders of the Democratic party in this city:

"You are right. Keep it before the people: NO MARCHING AROUND BALTIMORE. For the present, let our battle cry be, 'THROUGH BALTIMORE, AT EVERY HAZARD!' I pray you say to the Government that the people demand the right of way to the Capitol, and will have it.

"I am ready, if there be an occasion for it, to be one of an army over whose dead bodies our living soldiers may march in triumph to Washington. I mean what I say. I have lived thirty-seven years, and I care not to survive my country. THROUGH BALTIMORE, AT ALL HAZARDS!"

This is the sentiment of the people. There should be no marching around Baltimore. There should be no stopping of the mails and no cutting of the telegraph wires by the ruffians, murderers, and traitors of that misguided city.—*N. Y. Tribune*.

THURSDAY, APRIL 25.

The prospect of a speedy attack upon Washington appears to be quite as imminent as ever. Jeff. Davis and Alex. H. Stephens, are both said to be in Virginia, rousing the populace to the enterprise. A Massachusetts man who travelled several days with Stephens, and listened to his speeches to excited crowds, says that "an immediate dash at Washington" was the burden of his strain. Gen. Beauregard is believed to be in Richmond. Gov. Floyd offers a brigade from South Western Virginia. "Gov. Hicks of Maryland has taken command of 2000 Maryland militia, with whom he proposes to dispute the advance of our men from Annapolis to Washington.

In the meantime, the Tribune says, the great body of the Pennsylvania troops, now ready for the field, have moved down to Prettyman's on the Susquehanna, 38 miles from Baltimore, through, or over which, they intend to march for Washington, but will not, probably, reach there, within ten days! In the meantime, it is hoped that our 7th and the Massachusetts 8th Regiment, have reached Washington from Annapolis. And it is hoped that the route through Delaware and Annapolis will be kept open by the Regiments now rushing from New York and New-England.

More than 200 Southern clerks in the Department at Washington, resigned on Monday.

Large numbers of Naval and Military officers of the U. S. being Southern men, have resigned, and the loyalty of many of those who remain, is strongly doubted.

Gov. Ellis of N. Carolina, calls for 30,000 troops, to maintain the rights of the State.

Gov. Houston of Texas, announces his "determination to

oppose Pres. Lincoln's preparations for war."—Caleb Cushing of Massachusetts has declared for the Union.

Negro Insurrection.—The *Seventh Regiment*, &c.—*Philadelphia*, Wednesday, April 24, 1861.—A gentleman has arrived in this city who left Annapolis yesterday. He heard a report there, that a negro insurrection had occurred in Anne-Arundel County. Gen. Butler of Massachusetts, offered the services of the Eighth, (Mass.) Regiment, to subdue the insurrection.

The above is in the Tribune and other city Dailies. The Tribune discredits it. Can it be true? Is that the service that Massachusetts forces were sent to the South for? They might as well go into Jeff Davis' army, at once. The negroes were doubtless rising, in aid of the government, at any rate, it was aiding, and like the noble heroes so ignobly sent back into slavery, by Lieut. Slemmer of Fort Pickens, were expecting to be welcomed and protected. What madness, as well as wickedness! Every slave in arms is worth two northern soldiers, by adding one to the side of freedom, and detaining more than one from the army of slavery.

Hear what Daniel S. Dickinson says!

We copy from the *N. Y. World*.

Hon. Daniel S. Dickinson made a speech at the Fifth avenue hotel on Monday evening, the chief points of which, are embodied in the following sketch, although it does not reproduce the force and eloquence of Mr. Dickinson's language: He said that his hearers would bear him witness, that he had long endeavored to stay the storm that has now arisen, and to bring about some peaceful settlement of affairs. But now the South, first by seceding, and second, by firing on the old flag, had closed the door of reconciliation. He was meeting them on their own ground. He would have no half way measures, no compromises. Let us settle this thing speedily and surely. It may ruin this generation, but we owe it to the next that they should have no such troubles as we have had. He would strike now, in our might, and if necessary, wipe the South from the face of the earth. He knew they would have civil war, and what was far worse, servile war; and he would make the prophecy, that by the time this matter was settled, the peculiar institution of the South would be swept away. Let us finish things while we are about it, and leave nothing behind us.

By "The South" Mr. D. probably means (as usual) the slaveholders. And it is their slavery, not themselves, surely, that he would exterminate!

Hear, next, what Wendell Phillips, says. The *N. Y. Times* gives extracts from a speech of Wendell Phillips, in Music Hall, Boston, on Sunday last, in which he said:

There is only one thing that those cannon shot in the harbor of Charleston settled, and that is, that there can never be a compromise. [Loud applause.] We abolitionists have doubted whether this Union really meant justice and liberty. We have doubted the honest intention of nineteen million of people. They have said, in answer to our criticism, "We believe that the fathers meant to establish justice. We believe that there are hidden in the Armory of the Constitution weapons strong enough to secure it. We are willing yet to try the experiment. Grant us time." We have doubted, derided the pretence, as we supposed. During these long and weary weeks we have waited to hear the northern conscience assert its purpose. It comes at last. [An impressive pause.] Massachusetts blood has consecrated the pavements of Baltimore, and those stones are now too sacred to be trodden by slaves. [Loud cheers.]

And so we have Daniel S. Dickenson and Wendell Phillips on the same Anti-slavery platform—our own platform, for which we have so long contended, and almost single-handed—a National Abolition of Slavery, under the Constitution. Yes! The people are learning—thank God!—that there are weapons in the Constitution, strong enough to establish justice! Our labor has not been lost. "Hitherto hath the Lord helped!"

Progress enough for recording, in one day!

Considerable excitement exists in this city, (New York) from the rumor or suspicion, that traitors among us, or sojourning here, were taking measures for cutting off the supply of Croton Water, when the convenient time should come, to set fire to the city, or to the United States' buildings in it.

Has Virginia seceded? It is now affirmed that the Virginia Convention broke up in a row, without any regular act of secession.

A rumor a at the South, that Gen. Scott was about to resign, emboldened Judge Robinson, an old and personal friend of his, to call upon him and offer him the post of Commander-in-Chief of the forces of the "Confederate States."—Gen. Scott interrupted with a declaration, that if he went any farther in making such a proposition to him, he [Judge R.] would not be permitted to get back to Richmond; adding, that having sworn to support the Constitution, he realized all the honorable obligations of that oath, and should of course, observe them.

Friday 26th.—The news from Washington and vicinity, is more hopeful. The troops landed at Annapolis, had reached the Capital. The road was likely to be kept open, and more troops would be passing in, with supplies of arms and provisions. Neither Jeff. Davis, nor Gen. Beauregard had arrived in Virginia, as had been reported—the former being, as was be-

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lived, at Montgomery, sick, and the latter at Charleston, ex
pecting an invasion on the coast. The forces in Washington, under Gen. Scott, were already 10,000 men. The President, it is said, will immediately make a requisition for 100,000 more.

Seven Regiments will report themselves in readiness to day. The Governor yesterday issued a proclamation calling for 21 regiments in addition to the 17 already ordered out, in obedience to the requisition of the President. This will make a total of 38 regiments, comprising 30,000 men, from N. York.

Edward Falconer is forming a company of Minute Volunteers to be composed entirely of teetotalists.

The Danger at Washington. A gentleman long a resident of Washington, who has removed his family to the North, makes the following statements:

"Half the people inside the city are friendly to the Southern leaders. Everywhere I boldly heard secession sentiments proclaimed; ladies rejoiced over the downfall of Sumter, and the wife of a clergyman told me triumphantly on Sunday morning last, 'Now you see what we can do!' This is the greatest danger to Washington, and it is one nothing can overcome. The soldiers who have volunteered in the city are nine-tenths of them boys, and would not make any show at all, if attacked. You would be indignant to hear the open reproach and ridicule cast on the Massachusetts troops. It is said they run all the way through Baltimore merely from a mob of unarmed men; and it is said with great gusto that all they had to do was to knock a Northern soldier down, and take his musket from him." —Tribune.

In one way, the difficulty in Washington could be easily overcome. Proclaim "liberty to all the people," and bid them defend their liberties —*Principia*.

A young lady in Connecticut, who was betrothed to one of the Middletown volunteers, upon learning that he was going to the war, attempted to drown herself, but was fortunately rescued by bystanders.

The Camden and Amboy railroad have voted an appropriation of \$10,000 towards the support of the families of those of their employees who may enlist.

A company of sixty volunteers has been formed in Amherst college. The president, Rev. Dr. Stearns, was about to sail for Europe, but gave up the project. He said to some students; "I would no more leave my native country at this time than I would desert my house when on fire."

A REMARKABLE PROPHECY, OR A SINGULAR CO-IN-CIDENCE.

Just twenty-five years ago, Gov. M'Duffie of S. Carolina gave official utterance to his celebrated prediction or threat, that within twenty-five years "the institution of domestic slavery" would be extended over all the country, and that the laboring people, "bleached or unbleached, [ie. white or colored,] would be brought under the yoke. The close of the twenty-five years finds the same State of South Carolina actually pioneering a Confederacy of Slave States, openly and defiantly engaged in *that very enterprise*, seizing the public arms, capturing our forts, and thundering at the gates of the National Capital. For twenty-five years, the people have been warned of their danger. They have treated the warning as an idle tale, the dream of "fanatics." They are now drowsily waking to the reality, rubbing open their eyes—not, even yet, seeming to discover that it is "SLAVERY" which they have so insanely pledged themselves to "let alone in the States wherein it exists under the shield of State Sovereignty," that has come to exercise its "sovereignty" over them! Will they wake, and put an end to slavery, before they are made slaves themselves? Doubtful! If they follow the lead of those who try to put down secession without putting down slavery, it is next to certain that they will not.

SOUTHERN AND WESTERN MONEY

According to Thompson's New-York Bank Note Reporter of April 25, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and New Orleans bills are down to 50 per cent discount. Tennessee 25 per cent, Missouri, 20, and Kentucky 5.

Of the Western Free States, Indiana is 5 to 10, Illinois 20, Wisconsin 20, Michigan 2, Ohio 2, Iowa 10.

Since the last issue of the "Reporter" the Western Banks generally, except Ohio, and perhaps, Michigan, have gone down to 60 per cent discount, and the "discredited" banks to 75.

This sudden depreciation of the Western Notes, results from the impression that those Banks are based on Southern State Stocks, and that these are of little or uncertain value. Perhaps the last sudden declension is a causeless panic. Any reliable information respecting the security and solvency of Western Banks would be of mutual benefit to the East and to the West.

The Principia receives a considerable portion of its patron-

age from the West, and the state of the Western Currency is a matter of great importance to us.

Family Miscellany.

For the Principia.

LITTLE SUSIE'S INQUIRY.

Little rose, who made you?

How can I know?

Who cut out your tiny leaves?

Who could paint you so?

Pretty blue violet,

How did you grow?

Were you hid all winter,

Under the snow?

Or did some one make you,

And put you in the ground,

With your little sisters

Smiling all around?

And then, did they hide you

In the grass entwined,

For little girls like Susie

To walk along, and find?

Little brook, what are you?

What makes you go,

Dancing o'er the pebbles,

Jumping down below?

Where did you come from?

Where will you go?

What are you talking—

Why laughing so?

Little star what are you,

Shining down, so bright?

A little angel looking

On Susie, through the night?

Are you up in heaven?

What do you see?

Answer all my questions!

Whisper down to me!

STORY OF A BOY AND A TEA KETTLE.

On a winter's evening, nearly one hundred years ago, the tea-board was laid out and the window curtains closely drawn in the humble parlor of a small house in the town of Greenock, in the west of Scotland. A tidy, active matron was bustling about, slicing the bread and butter. A blazing fire flamed and roared in the grate, and curled round the black sides of the tea kettle in the midst of the fire; and the water boiled with a faintly-heard popping sound, and a stream of white vapor came whizzing out of the spout of the kettle with a shrill, cheery hiss.

As the matron stooped to pour the boiling fluid in the tea-pot, her son James, a boy of twelve summers, sat on a low bench in front of the fire. The boy was intently gazing at the fire, absorbed in deep contemplations. The boy looked at the kettle and the steam, and the mother looked at the boy.

"Was there ever such a ne'er-da-weel in this world as our Jamie?" was the question which almost unconsciously she proposed to herself. Mrs. B. stepped in, at this moment. Turning to the visitor, Jamie's mother said:

"Mrs. B., did you ever see the likes of our Jamie? look at him, he'll sit there for hours, staring at the kettle and the steam, till ye wad think his een wad come out o' his head."

As he watched the escaping steam, the boiling fluid would gather strength and raise the lid of the tea kettle; as the dreaming boy saw this he knew the struggle was symbolical of intellect warring with the elements. As he sat gazing in his day-dreams, his mother exclaimed:

"Jamie! sit by your tea; if I find ye staring at the fire again, ye'll find the weight o' my hand."

This anecdote is literally true. James Watt was born in 1736. This incident occurred when he was in his twelfth year. He was the son of a poor tradesman in Greenock, and probably had never read, the spelling book and Bible excepted. It was he who first applied steam to any useful purpose.—*Grant Thorburn*.

A SMOKING MINISTER EMERGES FROM SMOKE.

DEAR SIR:—I have left off smoking. I could give you, in my own experience, some items that I think must be a little troublesome to the conscience of any smoking minister. I indulged in it till I was thoroughly convinced that it was not only opposed to the refined socialities of life, but that it was detrimental to health, befogging to the intellect, and stultifying to the sensibilities. I will, however, trouble you with only a few details of its moral bearings. They will do to use against the habit, just as well as they would were they your own personal experience.

Take this text of the Apostle: "If meat make my brother to offend, I will eat no flesh while the world standeth." A very practical text; but I was a smoker, and that habit was opposed to the best Christian sense of my brethren, and, even by many who were not Christians, was regarded as a vice. I must waive that subject, lest my people say, "Physician, heal thyself."

I wanted to preach upon the duty of self-denial—a duty that needs often to be urged. But the idea of a *smoker* preaching such a doctrine was simply ridiculous. That must be delayed, then.

The subject of Temperance came up. I felt called to preach upon it; but I could find no sound premise from which to reason, that was not destructive to my peace, as a smoking Christian.

I wished to preach a sermon on benevolence, requiring to save the *little* for Christ; but my cigar-bill faced me. I could not well preach in the face of that.

It was my daily prayer that God would cleanse my heart from sin. Conscience wou'd whisper, smoking is sin.

I wished to visit my people; but both my clothes and my breath indicated that I had been smoking. I had a little rather they would not know it; besides, it might be offensive to them. I must stay at home.

I needed two or three hours of vigorous bodily exercise; but I sat down and smoked after each meal, and an hour and a half or two hours of the day were gone. A good smoke requires an hour. I could not spare the time for exercise, and I soon got so that vigorous exercise was irksome; in fine, I grew lazy.

There! there! I have reddened the white brow of BABY, Between those two limnings of delicate lace-work— The rarest of eye-brows; his laugh reassures me! I'll crush him down hard, wings and all, on my bosom, And punish the darling with rods made of kisses!

L. G.

BABY.

BY T. HULBERT UNDERWOOD.

On tiptoe I entered the bed-room of BABY: My fingers were tingling clear out to their tip-ends With blissful expectancy's luscious sweet fever; As trembling I parted the gossamer curtains Where Baby lay, fair as a fresh morning-glory, Soft-cushioned on folds of the bluest of velvet— A rose-bud dropped down on a bed of blue lillies.

Like petals of purest and pinkest petunias, Four delicate fingers crept out of their nestlings, Transparent and chubby, they rest on the crib's edge, And draping the fingers a fringe of crochet-work, As flossy and light as a net-work of snow-lace, Lay, kissing them daintily—even so daintily!

Nails soft and so tiny, and tinted like pink-buds, Looked up to me temptingly—ever so cunning; And asked me to kiss them, and oh! how I longed to, But dare not, for BABY was smiling so sweetly I knew he beheld then an angel-face near him.

Loose-ringed, on his temples of pure alabaster, Lay curls of the softest and lightest of texture, As sketched by a crayon of delicate gold-tint; Such curls as the gods gave to CUPID and PSYCHE! Those kissable curls, with their live, springing tendrils, Came up to my lips and went down to my heart-strings. Those eye-lids so filmy, translucent as amber, Were tinted and toned by the blue eyes beneath them, To softest of purple. O marvelous eye-lids!

Ah! what is this clinging so close to my heart-strings? 'Tis fear—that I know by the thrill in my bosom; 'Tis born of these ringlets and fingers and eye-lids; Born of this beauty too precious for mortals: It tells me I look on the face of an angel That lies there deceiving my soul by concealing Its pinions beneath the blue waves of the velvet.

I'll wake him!—with kisses that even an angel For such rare enjoyment would fold its wings, gladly— Would cling to mortality long for the love of!

